

Message Text

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TO USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 205165

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 14709 ACTION SECSTATE INFO
LONDON MOSCOW NATO PARIS BERLIN GENEVA 17 SEPTEMBER.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 14709

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PFOR, WB, GE, GW, US, UR

SUBJECT: GROMYKO VISIT TO BONN

REF: BONN 13534

1. SUMMARY. FRG FONOFF'S SOVIET DIVISION CHIEF BRIEFED
US ON GROMYKO'S SEPTEMBER 15-16 VISIT TO BONN. DIS-
CUSSIONS BETWEEN FONMIN GENSCHER AND GROMYKO FOCUSED ON
CSCE, BILATERAL ISSUES (ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC RELATIONS
AND HUMANITARIAN IMPROVEMENTS), AND BERLIN. GROMYKO
ALSO MET WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT SEPTEMBER 16 FOR TALK
LASTING SEVERAL HOURS. SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER ACCEPTED
SOVIET INVITATION TO VISIT USSR OCTOBER 28-31. FRG
FONOFF IMPRESSION WAS THAT ATMOSPHERE OF GROMYKO VISIT
WAS GOOD, BUT THAT LITTLE CONCRETE EMERGED, AND THAT
GROMYKO DID GET A FEEL FOR NEW GERMAN LEADERSHIP. END
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SUMMARY.

2. CSCE. BOTH GERMAN AND SOVIET SIDES CONDUCTED THE TWO DAYS' TALKS FAIRLY INTENSIVELY. GROMYKO LAUNCHED HIS TALKS WITH GENSCHER BY PRESSING HARD ON CSCE, STRESSING DESIRABILITY OF EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT STAGE IN GENEVA. GROMYKO SAID THE WHOLE NEGOTIATION WAS JUST PROCEEDING TOO SLOWLY. GENSCHER SAID THE FRG ALSO FAVORED EARLY CONCLUSION OF THE TALKS BUT WOULD NOT PERMIT A SPEED-UP IF IT WAS AT THE EXPENSE OF CLARITY IN THE VARIOUS DOCUMENTS UNDER PREPARATION.

3. ON BASKET I, GROMYKO SAID THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO FAVOR THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE ON PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS AND NOT THE NEW US FORMULATION. (OUR SOURCE SAID THAT GROMYKO AVOIDED STATING THAT THE US FORMULATION WAS UNACCEPTABLE.) GENSCHER ASKED GROMYKO TO SEE IF THE SOVIETS COULD NOT ACCEPT THE NEW US LANGUAGE AND STRESSED THE FRG INTEREST IN HAVING IT ACCEPTED. GROMYKO MADE NO REPLY TO THIS REQUEST.

3. ON BASKET II, GROMYKO PUSHED HARD ON MFN, STRESSING THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR ALL EUROPEAN STATES TO AGREE ON THIS MATTER. GENSCHER SAID HE THOUGHT THAT THE CSCE COULD PROVIDE AT BEST ONLY A POSSIBLE FRAMEWORK FOR WORKING OUT THE HANDLING OF THE MFN ISSUE AT SOME LATER STAGE. ON BASKET III, GROMYKO AVOIDED A DISCUSSION OF DETAILS BUT CONCENTRATED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE GOVERNING ALL ACTIVITIES FALLING WITHIN THIS BASKET. GENSCHER SAID THIS SEEMED TO POSE NO PROBLEM. GROMYKO THEREUPON SAID THAT SOME MOVEMENT IN BASKET III MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IF THAT WERE THE CASE. ON CBM'S, GROMYKO REITERATED THE STANDARD SOVIET LINE CONCERNING THE SIZE OF TROOP MOVEMENTS AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL AREA TO BE COVERED.

4. GROMYKO GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING WILLING TO ENTER INTO SOME DETAILED DISCUSSION OF CSCE ISSUES BUT GENSCHER KEPT THE TALKS ON A GENERAL PLANE, ARGUING THAT THE DETAILS WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT BY THE DELEGATIONS IN GENEVA. GROMYKO WAS ALSO LOW-KEY ON CONFIDENTIAL

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BASKET III, SEEMINGLY WISHING TO AVOID ANY OPEN CONFLICT IN THIS AREA DURING THE VISIT.

5. MBFR. GROMYKO DID NOT RAISE THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS WITH GENSCHER BUT DID PRESENT THE BASIC SOVIET POSITION TO SCHMIDT. THE DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER PRODUCED NO NEW TWISTS OR APPEARANCE OF FLEXIBILITY IN THE SOVIET STANCE.

6. BILATERAL ISSUES. GROMYKO EMPHASIZED THE SOVIET INTEREST IN CONTINUING THE POLICY OF COOPERATION AND DETENTE WITH THE FRG AND REVIEWED THE POSITIVE RESULTS OF THAT POLICY OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS. HE THEN PRESSED HARD FOR AN INTENSIFICATION OF FRG-USSR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, ESPECIALLY IN LARGE-SCALE PROJECTS. BOTH SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER REPORTEDLY MADE POSITIVE NOISES BUT NOTHING CONCRETE EMERGED FROM THE DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC/TRADE QUESTIONS.

7. GENSCHER PRESENTED A VERY FORTHRIGHT VIEW OF THE FRG CONCERNS ABOUT HUMANITARIAN CASES INVOLVING GERMAN CITIZENS IN THE USSR, INCLUDING EXPANDED ETHNIC GERMANS' EMIGRATION .TO THE FRG, EXPANDED TRAVEL PRIVILEGES FOR GERMANS TO RELATIVES IN THE USSR, AND FAMILY REUNION, EASED CONDITIONS FOR MARRIAGES BETWEEN GERMANS AND SOVIETS. HE ALSO RAISED THE MATTER OF THE SOVIETS' HAVING JAILED ETHNIC GERMANS WHO HAD DEMONSTRATED PUBLICLY IN THE USSR. GROMYKO WAS SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE AT FIRST IN HANDLING GENSCHER'S STATEMENT, NOTING THAT THE FRG TENDED TO KEEP INFLATING ITS DEMANDS IN THIS AREA. HE THEN SAID THAT ALTHOUGH MANY OF THESE CASES CREATED PROBLEMS FOR THE USSR, THE GENERAL TENDENCY OF THE SOVIETS WAS TO BE POSITIVE.

8. BERLIN. BOTH SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER SPENT SOME TIME EXPLAINING TO GROMYKO THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REGARDED BERLIN PROBLEMS. THERE WAS AN EXCHANGE OF ARGUMENTS ABOUT FEDERAL OFFICES IN BERLIN, WITH GROMYKO OPPOSING THEIR ESTABLISHMENT AS BEING IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT. THE GERMAN LEADERS ARGUED TO THE CONTRARY, BUT CONCEDED

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THAT ANY DECISIONS ABOUT LOCATING FURTHER OFFICES IN BERLIN WOULD BE EXAMINED ON POLITICAL AS WELL AS LEGAL GROUNDS. GROMYKO REPORTEDLY INDICATED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER DIFFICULTIES ON THE TRANSIT ROUTES OVER THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENTAL OFFICE.

9. THE FRG SIDE ALSO RAISED THE MATTER OF INCLUDING BERLIN IN VARIOUS BILATERAL AGREEMENTS, E.G. THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL AGREEMENT AND THE AGREEMENT ON LEGAL ASSISTANCE. THE SOVIETS REMAINED UNBUDGING IN THEIR POSITION, STICKING TO PREVIOUS FORMULATIONS. IT WAS DECIDED TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS OF THESE PROBLEMS IN DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS IN COMING WEEKS. IN SUM, THERE WAS NO MOVEMENT WHATSOEVER ON OUTSTANDING BERLIN PROBLEMS. THE GERMAN SIDE HAD EXPECTED THIS

AND TOOK A FIRM LINE ITSELF.

10. BOTH SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER ACCEPTED THE SOVIET INVITATION TO VISIT THE USSR FROM OCTOBER 28-31.

11. COMMENT. FRG FONOFF SOURCE SAID THE GENERAL IMPRESSION FOLLOWING GROMYKO'S DEPARTURE WAS THAT THE VISIT HAD GONE REASONABLY WELL. THE ATMOSPHERE HAD BEEN GOOD, AND GENSCHER AND GROMYKO HAD GOTTEN ALONG WELL. ALTHOUGH THERE WERE NO CONCRETE RESULTS FROM THE VISITS, THE GERMANS BELIEVE THAT GROMYKO WENT OFF WITH A BETTER APPRECIATION OF THE FIRMNESS OF THE NEW SCHMIDT/GENSCHER TEAM. OUR SOURCES DO NOT EXPECT ANY MAJOR BREAKTHROUGHS IN ANY AREA OF BILATERAL RELATIONS BEFORE THE SCHMIDT VISIT TO MOSCOW, AND EVEN THEN, THEY CONSIDER THE PROSPECTS FOR SIGNIFICANT POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS VERY LIMITED.

12. AFTER THE DRAMATIC PHASE OF FRG-USSR RELATIONS IN THE PAST FEW YEARS ASSOCIATED WITH BRANDT'S AND BAHR'S NEGOTIATIONS ON BASIC ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE, THE CONFIDENTIAL

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RELATIONSHIP NOW CENTERS ON NEGOTIATION OF MORE PRACTICAL, THOUGH HIGHLY IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. THE PERIOD AHEAD WILL CONTINUE TO BE FOCUSED ON SUCH QUESTIONS. PROGRESS WILL PROBABLY NOT BE SPECTACULAR. THE NEW GERMAN TEAM OF SCHMIDT AND GENSCHER HAVE A REPUTATION FOR HARD HEADEDNESS, AND THEY WILL BE ANXIOUS TO SHOW THE GERMAN PUBLIC THAT THEY CAN GET RESULTS IN DEALING WITH THE RUSSIANS. THE LATTER ARE CLEARLY ABLE TO MEET GERMAN DESIDERATA ON A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES, AND THE GERMANS EQUALLY CLEARLY HAVE MUCH TO OFFER THAT IS OF INTEREST TO MOSCOW. THERE IS THUS AMPLE ROOM FOR MANY PATTERNS OF QUIDS AND QUOS. PERHAPS THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION IS WHAT IMPORTANCE THE RUSSIANS ATTACH TO MAINTAINING A STRONG GERMAN INTEREST IN OSTPOLITIK OVERALL. THE FRG'S KEY ROLE IN EAST-WEST BALANCES SHOULD ENSURE THAT THE LEVEL OF IMPORTANCE IS VERY HIGH INDEED. HILLENBRAND UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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